

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 098230

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, WA, SF

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE CONTACT GROUP TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH
SWAPO'S APPROACH TO OUR INITIATIVE AND THE UNGA SPECIAL
SESSION

1. THE MEETING WHICH THE SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG
HAD WITH SAM NUJOMA IN DAR ES SALAAM APRIL 15, COMBINED
WITH RECENT SWAPO STATEMENTS AND THE ACTIONS OF THE
AFRICAN STATES IN NEW YORK, SERVE TO MAKE CLEAR SWAPO'S
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CURRENT APPROACH TO THE CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVE AND THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA.

2. IN RETROSPECT, WE HAVE PERHAPS UNDER ESTIMATED THE
TACTICAL IMPORTANCE WHICH SWAPO ATTACHES TO THE SPECIAL
GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON NAMIBIA. IT NOW APPEARS TO
US THAT SWAPO SEES SPECIAL SESSION AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO

DEFLECT FRONT LINE PRESSURE ON THEM TO ACCEPT THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS, CORNER SOUTH AFRICA INTO REJECTING THE PROPOSALS AND SHIFT THE BLAME TO THEM FOR TORPEDOING THE EFFORT, AND PRODUCE RESOLUTIONS WITH A PRO-SWAPO TILT WHICH THEY COULD ARGUE SHOULD BE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF IN "FURTHER REFINING" THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS.

3. IF OUR ASSESSMENT IS CORRECT, IT IS CLEAR WHY THE CONTACT GROUP DECISION TO MOVE AHEAD IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON OUR INITIATIVE PRIOR TO THE SPECIAL SESSION CAME AS A VERY UNPLEASANT SURPRISE TO SWAPO. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, SWAPO'S REACTION HAS BEEN QUITE CONSISTENT WITH ITS OVERALL POSITION. SWAPO HAS ATTEMPTED TO USE THE AFRICAN STATES ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEFER ANY COUNCIL ACTION UNTIL AFTER THE SPECIAL SESSION. ALTHOUGH THIS OPPOSITION MAY BE ERODING SOMEWHAT IN THE FACE OF OBJECTIONS FROM OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS, IN PARTICULAR THE INDIANS, THE AFRICANS NOW HAVE A SECOND LINE OF DEFENSE WHICH INVOLVES AGREEMENT TO A FORMAL COUNCIL MEETING IN EXCHANGE FOR A WESTERN PLEDGE NOT TO SEEK A RESOLUTION. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS "COMPROMISE" IS DESIRABLE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW IN THAT A RESOLUTION PROVIDES THE BEST MEANS AVAILABLE FOR US TO FORCE THE AFRICANS TO SAY IN PUBLIC WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN SAYING IN PRIVATE, I.E., THAT THE CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVE PROVIDES A CONFIDENTIAL

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FAIR AND EQUITABLE MEANS TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. A COUNCIL MEETING WITHOUT A RESOLUTION COULD BE USED BY THE AFRICANS TO PROMOTE SWAPO'S AIM OF STRESSING THE PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION IN DEVISING A SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM.

4. SWAPO'S STRATEGY FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION PROBABLY BOILS DOWN TO OBTAINING A PRO-SWAPO RESOLUTION, OR RESOLUTIONS, WHICH IT COULD ARGUE SHOULD BE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF BY THE CONTACT GROUP IN A NEW ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS ON THEIR PROPOSALS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC OF THE SPECIAL SESSION COULD HELP REALIZE ANOTHER MAJOR SWAPO OBJECTIVE -- SOUTH AFRICA'S REJECTION OF THE CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVE AND A DECISION TO PROCEED WITH AN INTERNAL SOLUTION. SWAPO WILL ALSO SEEK TO USE THE SPECIAL SESSION TO OBTAIN A STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY WHICH WOULD POSE THE VERY REAL DILEMMA FOR THE WESTERN POWERS OF EITHER REFUSING TO GO ALONG WITH THE SWAPO POSITION OR RUNNING THE RISK OF DRIVING SOUTH AFRICA INTO REJECTING THE CONTACT GROUP EFFORT AND MOVING TOWARD AN INTERNAL

SETTLEMENT. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE SEE NO
ALTERNATIVE TO CONTACT GROUP ABSTENTION ON ANY SUCH
RESOLUTION, MAKING IT CLEAR TO SAG AND THE FRONT LINE
THAT OUR POSITION IS DICTATED BY OUR BELIEF THAT

ANY EFFORT TO PRE-DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS
ON WALVIS BAY WOULD LEAD TO THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR
EFFORT.

5. OUR EXPERIENCE THUS FAR INDICATES BOTH HOW
IMPORTANT THE FRONT LINE AFRICAN STATES ARE IN SECURING
FAVORABLE UN ACTION ON OUR INITIATIVE AND WHAT A WEAK
REED THE AFRICANS CAN BE IN THE FACE OF SWAPO'S
STUBBORN POSITION. THE OTHER NON-ALIGNED SECURITY
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COUNCIL MEMBERS ARE NOT WILLING TO GET OUT IN FRONT
OF THE AFRICANS (WITNESS THE BOLIVIAN POSITION), WHILE
THE AFRICANS ARE NOT PREPARED TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED
IN FAVOR OF OUR INITIATIVE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE
HAVE DONE ALMOST EVERYTHING THEY HAVE ASKED IN AN EFFORT
TO MAKE THE PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. A JOINT
CONTACT GROUP DEMARCHE IN THE KEY AFRICAN CAPITALS,
WHICH WOULD HAVE TO TAKE PLACE NO LATER THAN
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 19, MAY BE OUR BEST HOPE FOR
TURNING THESE KEY PARTICIPANTS AROUND AND OBTAINING
A SITUATION IN NEW YORK IN WHICH A RESOLUTION ALONG
THE LINES OF WHAT WE HAVE PROPOSED IS A REALISTIC
POSSIBILITY. ALTERNATIVELY, IF FRONT LINE FOREIGN
MINISTERS WILL BE COMING TO NEW YORK FOR SPECIAL
SESSION, THE MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH MIGHT BE TO
ORGANIZE A MEETING WITH THEM AS SOON AS THEY ARRIVE
IN NEW YORK, IN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO OBTAIN THEIR
AGREEMENT TO AN SC RESOLUTION AS SOON AS THE SPECIAL
SESSION IS OVER, ENDORSING THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS.

6. FINALLY, THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS MAKE CLEAR THE
NECESSITY OF A VERY INTENSIVE LOBBYING CAMPAIGN OVER
THE NEXT WEEK IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT THE SPECIAL
SESSION DOES NOT DEVELOP AS SWAPO CLEARLY HOPES IT WILL
AND THAT OUR INITIATIVE OBTAINS AT LEAST EQUAL BILLING
WITH THE DECLARATIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL FOR
NAMIBIA AT SWAPO'S BEHEST.

7. IN ANY SUCH APPROACH IN CAPITALS, CONTACT GROUP
MIGHT WANT TO INCLUDE ELEMENTS FOREGOING ANALYSIS
IN TALKING POINTS, EXPLAINING HOW SUCH A SCENARIO
COULD CRIPPLE EFFORTS AT REACHING AN INTERNATIONALLY
ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS.
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